The Populist Politicization of Inequalities

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Populism and economic development

- First used to study a phase in the history of modernization or development.
- Neoliberal economist used it as a yardstick to label distributive economic policies as irrational.
- Populist politicize socioeconomic, political, and cultural exclusions.

Politicization of Inequalities in the Americas

Leftwing populism: Chávez, Morales, Correa	Rightwing populists Trump and Bolsonaro
Politicization of the political economy, anti-neoliberalism, state regulates markets, national sovereignty, anti-imperialism	Trump : rebellion against cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, political correctness. Against global elites above, immigrants and nonwhites below, producerism. For protectionism
	Bolsonaro : gender ideology, LGTBQ rights, the left, black activists
Crisis of all institutions of democracy: parties, congress, the judiciary	Crisis of political parties not of all democratic institutions
Widespread rebellions to neoliberalism	Rebellions against governments that promoted multiculturalism
Rupture: 1) neoliberalism; 2) existing democracies constituent power vs. constituted power; 3) national sovereignty	Rupture of elite consensus that linked globalization with limited multicultural recognitions
REGIMES: Chávez 1999-2013 Morales 2006-2019	GOVERNMENT
Correa 2007-2017	

Populism: Conceptual Strategies

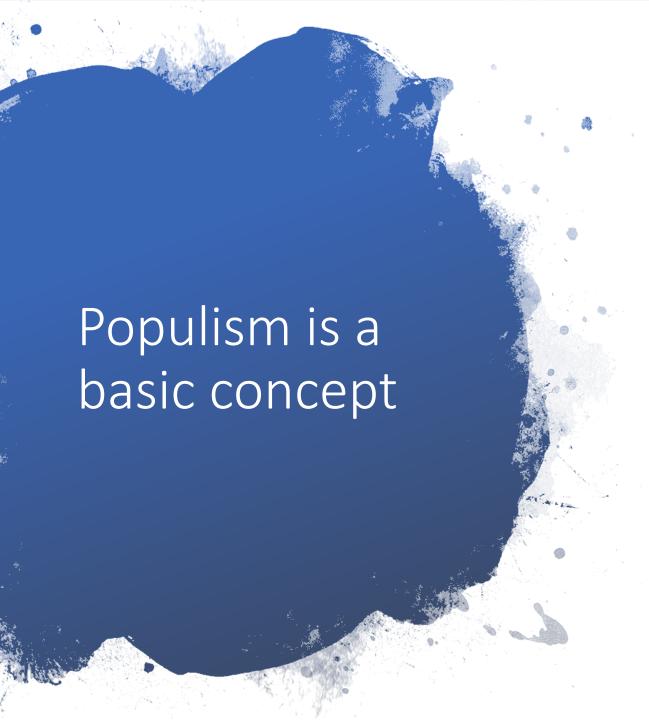
- Abolitionism: populism is an "empty shell, which can be filled by the most disparate political contents" (Enzo Traverso)
- Positivist oriented scholars seek to produce a minimum definition that can travel in time and space to accumulate knowledge. Non positivists refuse to reduce it to a couple of sentences and continue to use accumulative theories to make sense of how populism is grounded in history, and in particular political, economic, and cultural milieus.

Brubaker's ideal typical definition "Populism and nationalism"

the invocation of 'the people' in a two-fold opposition, at once vertical and horizontal, against 'those on top' (and sometimes also 'those on the bottom') on the one hand, and against an alien or threatening 'outside' on the other, generally in such a way that economic, political and cultural elites are represented as being 'outside' – or at least different or 'other' – as well as 'on top'. Other basic elements include majoritarianism, which asserts the interests, rights and will of 'the majority' against those of minorities (including those on the top, those on the bottom and those on the margins); anti-institutionalism, which delegitimises the complex workings of mediating institutions in the name of an ideology of immediacy, transparency and directness; protectionism – economic, securitarian or cultural – which claims to protect 'the people' against threats from above, from below and from outside, threats that are often represented in the language of crisis; a **communicational style** that claims to favor plain speaking, common sense and authenticity against intellectualism and political correctness; and antagonistic re-politicization, which claims to reassert democratic authority over depoliticized domains of social life.

Comparing conceptual approaches to populism

	Ideational	Performative	Strategic	Laclau	Ideal Type
Is populism a binary or gradation?	Binary opposites pluralism, elitism	Binary Moffit 2016 opposite technocracy	Weyland 2001 organizational	Gradation Populism=-the	Gradation
		Gradation Moffit 2020, Ostiguy 2017	linkages Fuzzy set Weyland 2017	political vs. administration	Multiple domains (politics, communication,
	Domain Morality	Domain politics	Domain politics		etc
Is populism an attribute or a practice?	Attribute of social movements, politicians, attitudes	Practice of performing politics	Practice- attribute strong leader Disorganized followers	Practice	Practice
Minimal definition	Manichaean ideology pure people vs evil elites	Bad manners Flaunting of the low	Strategy of leader to get to power and govern Disorganized followers	Political logic: equivalency, enemy, leader empty signifier, rupture, new institutional order	no
Epistemological orientation	Positivist	Moffit 2016 positivist, Ostiguy 2017 Moffit 2020 no positivist	Positivist	No positivist	Aim to preserve complexity and historicity



- Populism is "a basic concept deployed in the public languages in which political controversy was conducted".
- Does not carry a single indisputable meaning, and a variety of conflicting constituencies passionately struggle to make their definitions authoritative and compelling
- Populism is an "inescapable, irreplaceable part of the political and social vocabulary. Basic concepts become indispensable to the most urgent issues of a given time. They are always both controversial and contested".

What populist do? Urbinati 2019

- Creating existential enemies
- Constructing the people
- Leader as embodiment
- Differentiate populism seeking power, in office, and as regime
- Distinguishing right and left populism
- Distinction between light and full blown populists

Constructing The People and its enemies: racialization and genderization

	People as One Autocratic tendencies	People as Plural Democratizing tendencies
Ethnic Construction Politicization of fear and survival Enemies: ethnic, racial "other"	Rightwing European and American populists. The people as white. Enemies: immigrants, Muslims, non-whites colonial other Bolsonaro: anti-feminist, anti-LGTBQ, enemies left	MAS Morales ethno populism (indigenous, mestizo)
Political and Socioeconomic Construction Politicization: of humiliations, injustice, resentment Enemies: oligarchy	Chávez, Correa Inclusionary and autocratic left populism	Politicization of socio-economic exclusions. PODEMOS and SYRIZA's plural people



- For populism to be successful it needs a leader, otherwise it remains at the margins of the political system.
- A leader is built as the authentic and truthful embodiment of the right people. Even when populists are inclusionary, it is on the condition of accepting the leadership of the wise leader.
- The leader is the person who names who belongs to the good people, and who are its enemies. Pars pro parte dynamic
- The populist leader is authoritarian in style, runs a centralized machinery of power in which no challenge is allowed to emerge...but must periodically renew his or her mandate by defeating competing parties in popular elections" (Chaterjee 2020, 104).

Why different politicizations of the people

- Geography European exclusionary vs Latin American inclusionary (Mudde and Rovira Kalatwasser)
- History of colonialism (Dani Filc)
- Varieties of capitalism Mediterranean and Northern Central European and types of populism

"exclusionary populism thrives where capitalism is more inclusive, egalitarian and integrative, whereas inclusive populism where capitalism more exclusionary, segmented, and dualistic" (Ken Roberts)

Bipolar disorders France, U.S.

Voluntarism Ernesto Laclau, and Chantall Mouffe



Populist in Power: The Populist Playbook



1) Capturing the referees (the judicial system, law enforcement and intelligence agencies, tax authorities, regulatory agencies, and institutions in charge of horizontal accountability).



2) Silencing opponents buying, bribing them, or using repression



3) Changing the rules of the game by reforming the constitution and changing electoral rules.



4) Fabricating or taking advantage of crises to concentrate power and crack down the opposition

Populist regimes

Constitutional change (concentration of power in the executive)

Legal restrictions/supervision/control to private media, civil society, universities

Elections are the source of legitimacy

Combines democratic logic of elections with anti-pluralist practices based on the notion of the people as one

Polarization and radicalization of politics, irreversibility (found again, revolution, bring back to national traditions)

Temporality evolve to dictatorship, democracy, serial populism

Populist Regimes

	View of democracy	Compliance	New regime	Silences	Strengths
Radical democracy (Mouffe, Laclau)	Left rupture of neoliberal-technocratic order creation of new institutions	Antagonism people vs. oligarchy	Improved form of democracy	Authoritarian practices of left populist regimes	Critique to real existing democracy
Competitive Authoritarianism (Levitsky, Weyland)	Institutionalist Elections in an uneven field	Clientelism, patronage, corruption	Not longer a democracy	Overlooks material, symbolic, political populist inclusions Silence on democratic disfigurement, erosion of civility (Weyland) Faith in institutions	How democracies die?
Populist democracy (Germani, de la Torre, Finchelstein, Rosanvallon)	Institutions + spaces for public deliberation+ type of society (equality of rights, participation, reduction of inequalities)	Inclusion on the condition of accepting the leader	Elections People as one Leader as embodiment Radicalization/polarization/ Irreversibility Instrumentalization of law, media, bureacracy	Tensions inclusion and democratization, irreversibility-democratic succession, Parts-whole	Inclusion and authoritarianism Inclusion is not the same as democracy

Differentiating populists

- Right and left
- Light populists, I refer to political parties and politicians that occasionally use populist tropes and discourses, but that do not aim to rupture existing institutions.
- Full-blown populists use democratic institutional mechanisms and mass mobilization to try to bring change. When seeking power, full-blown populists appeal to constituencies that the elites despise or ignore. They use discourses and performances to shock and disturb the limits of the permissible and to confront conventions.